pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital headdress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

532 [171] of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some 301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampiitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted [283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut, [237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the [386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles- 301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton 881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only 171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by 301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Bororo (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupi tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
352 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetõ, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among [531] the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished [532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
352 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tasseis [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Aragunia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool kolixú (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Auetõ and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apükáp in Von den
352 Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apüka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apykú, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *anšinga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an *anšinga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (?).

Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the dream experiences of shamans or *paniʼé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *tangá*, the soul, may free itself from the *etá*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *anšinga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, hordes of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

(?) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not universally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

6: Baldus--17 E-5 (1935,1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Fig. 9. Tanupantxóa-Kamanané, about 45 years old, and in 1947 the oldest Tapirapé. He defended his village alone against the Kaiapó.

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Fig. 10. Tapirapé youth making a wax doll.

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9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupí peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomenon is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupí, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *tupí*. *Tupí* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small headdress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *tupí* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *tupí*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *tupí's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *tupí*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and chant until they "see" one or more *tupí*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *tupí* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *tupí*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Purunka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*tupí* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

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PLATE 10.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy clusters of maize feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of man's house. *Bottom, right:* Dancer masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

Cp. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

Tapirapé religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

"The ančunga iiñwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinamba*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kuú) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

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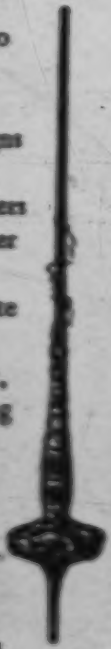
Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 531 191 The whole-gourd vessel (kuïti; Pl. 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kãlõdi; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (dĩohõ, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a 283 Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, 411 which is led from one corner down along the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of



Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

/406 cont./

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, hõõlã; urucú, kãã; tobacco, bãdumã.

114 [131] 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

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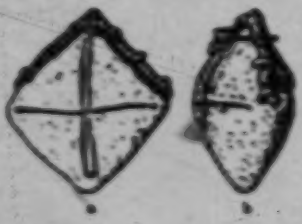

Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[322] [85] The traces that I came across were the following: on the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.

[See pp. 339-337 — Anal.]